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Vol. 55, No. 3 Whole Number 447

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., by the Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and three weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.*

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

COVER—Petite and vivacious Ruby Dee is a bit short on stature but she is "long" on ambition. A Hunter college graduate with a major in languages, she goes in for painting and music as hobbies and is now studying dancing. She played the lead role in *Anna Lucasta* for three months and was also seen as the waif in *A Long Way From Home.*

•

DR. REID E. JACKSON is a 1929 graduate of Wilberforce and received his Ph. D. degree in education from Ohio State University in 1937. Before coming to Wilberforce as director of the Bureau of Educational Research and director of the Division of Arts and Sciences, he had served as dean at Edward Waters College in Florida, at Langston University in Oklahoma, and at Arkansas State College. He has taught also at Dillard, West Virginia State College, Morgan State College, and Southern University. Dr. Jackson wrote the much-discussed "Education in Black," which appeared in the October, 1945, issue of *The Crisis.*

•

GEORGE PADMORE, the internationally known expert on colonial affairs, has been contributing articles on colonial problems to *The Crisis* for many years. Mr. Padmore lives in London and divides his time between his regular writing and the editing of his *Colonial Parliamentary Bulletin*, a digest of parlimentary debates and interpellations on colonial affairs.

•

SOURCES for the pictures on pages 80 and 81 are Acme, British Combine, Press Association.

•

SIRDAR J. J. SINGH is president of the India League of America, an organization formed in 1937 "to interpret India and America to each other." The League celebrated its tenth anniversary at a meeting on January 6 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City, with America's first ambassador to India, Dr. Henry F. Grady, as guest of honor. Mr. Singh has also been a member of the All-India Congress Committee. He has been in the United States since 1927, and at present heads the wholesale importing firm of Singh Singh & Company, Inc., of New York City.

One of Ghandi's last public utterances before his assassination on January 30 was explanation of his fast of January 13-18: "I embarked on the fast in the name of truth whose familiar name is God. Without living truth God is nowhere. In the name of God we have indulged in lies, massacres of people without caring whether they were innocent or guilty, men or women, children or infants. We have indulged in abductions, forcible conversions and we have done all this shamelessly. I am not aware if anybody has done these things in the name of truth. With that name on my lips I have broken the fast."

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DR. HUGH H. SMYTHE (who reviews *Race and Nationality* at page 89) is research assistant in the department of special research, NAACP.

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College and School News

More than 3,000 students enrolled for the winter quarter at the AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL COLLEGE (Greensboro, N. C.). Veterans, as during previous registration periods, formed the major portion of the enrollment; 1,681 ex-servicemen were enrolled during the fall term.

The second annual "Cultural Life of Our College" series was sponsored by the college English emphasis committee. The project, under the supervision of Miss Carrye V. Hill, stresses the value of social etiquette in everyday life.

Opening lecture in the winter lyceum series was delivered in January by Dr. Clarence W. Sorensen, noted writer and authority on global geography, who spoke on "The Near East: A Critical Crossroads."

Sixty of the best trained voices from the ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE symphonic choir gave recitals in St. Louis, Evansville, Terre Haute, Nashville, Jackson, and Decatur during the month of February.

Percy Greene, editor of the Jackson, Mississippi, *Advocate,* was a recent guest speaker at ALCORN A. & M. COLLEGE.

Second annual conference of the National Federation of General Alumni Associations of colleges participating in the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND was held in New York City January 20-21, with thirty national presidents and alumni secretaries and other alumni officials from twenty-six colleges attending the meeting. The delegates drew up a plan of action whereby the alumni throughout the nation can be brought to rally behind the 1948 campaign of the UNCF.

Education of the public on the rights and wrongs of the racial question as a means to breaking down the barriers of prejudice was the subject of a talk by the Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., chaplain CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL, at their council forum held in New York City on January 8.

At FORDHAM UNIVERSITY the school of social service is sponsoring a two-point credit-course in "Community Organization and Cultural Relations" under the direction of George K. Hunton, secretary of the CIC and editor of

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the *Interracial Review*. After a two-year experiment with this course, the university has decided that its content will become a part of the basic equipment of every trained social worker.

Some of the miracles of modern science was the theme of a lecture-demonstration on black light at SPELMAN COLLEGE by Dr. Luther Gable, instructor at the American Television Laboratories in Chicago.

President Rufus E. Clement has announced the appointment of Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick of New York City as head of the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY library. Dr. Reddick, who since 1939 has been curator of the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature at the 136th Street branch of the New York public library, will have the rank of professor of history. He will take office April 1, 1948.

December issue of the university bulletin features five alumni in the "Bulletin Spotlight," the section dedicated to the achievements of faculty and graduates. Named in the alumni group are Mrs. Mary Ellen Johnson, '38, founder and manager of the Johnsons School of Business in Little Rock, Arkansas, and Jackson, Mississippi; Dr. Joseph A. Pierce, '25, chairman of the department of mathematics and statistics at Atlanta; Robert W. Gadsden, '97, distinguished in the field of education; Walter White, '16, intrepid fighter for the rights of the Negro; and Frank P. Chisholm, '03-'06, national representative of the United Negro College Fund.

Mrs. Lenora Carington Lane, psychologist and professor of education at the COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS at Wilberforce has been invited by the Ohio state department of public welfare to organize a preparatory commission of the International Congress of Mental Health which convenes in London, England, on August 11-21, 1948. Purpose of the preparatory commission is to furnish a report for the international program.

The division of business administration at the college is now offering a comprehensive program of studies in the field of accounting in order to help students qualify themselves as certified public accountants.

Dr. J. Carter Swain of the International Council of Religious Education was guest speaker and discussion leader at the college on January 11-12. His address stressed the fundamentally religious conception which lies at the basis of our American heritage.

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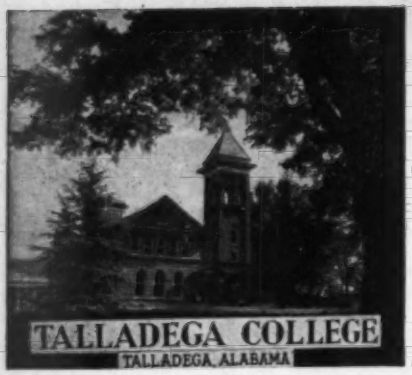

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DR. RUTH MARIE THOMAS, *professor of education at the College of Education and Industrial Arts, Wilberforce, Ohio.*

The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has placed FLORIDA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE on its accredited list as a standard four-year college, according to an announcement made by President John L. Tilley.

A joint gift from the General Education Board and the board of education of the Northern Baptist Convention has made possible the creation of a family life center at the college. Annual mid-winter Ministers Institute was held at the college February 16-20.

Eleven students of SHAW UNIVERSITY have been cited for outstanding scholarship by the Kappa Mu National Honor Society. The group, including nine juniors and two seniors, were inducted into membership in the Alpha Omicron chapter, now in its fourth year at Shaw. With five members remaining from last year, the membership becomes the largest in the history of the society at Shaw.

According to records compiled in the department of records and research at TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, there was one person lynched during 1947. This is five less than the number of six for 1946; equivalent to the number one for the year 1945; one less than the number two for the year 1944; and two less than the number three for the year 1943. The lynch victim was Willie Earle, a 24-year-old South Carolina Negro charged with stabbing and mobbing a white taxi driver.

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There were six boarderline cases which are not included in the total number of lynchings for 1947 because, to date, sufficient evidence concerning them has not been obtained. There were at least thirty-one instances in which lynchings were prevented; forty-four persons were also under indictment as participants in lynchings or attempted lynchings during the year 1947—and forty-four were freed.

New president of PRINCESS ANNE COLLEGE is Dr. John Taylor Williams. Dr. Williams did his undergraduate work at Langston university and earned his master and doctorate degrees from the universities of Cincinnati and Indiana, respectively.

Among recent guest speakers at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) have been William Pickens, senior specialist and director of interracial section savings bond division of the U. S. Treasury Department; and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president-founder of Bethune-Cookman college.

For the third successive year junior and senior students in Missouri high schools are competing for prizes, totaling more than one hundred dollars, being offered by the university school of journalism.

Four juniors and ten seniors from FISK UNIVERSITY have been selected for the 1947-48 edition of *Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges.* Word has been received by the university of the death of Dr. William N. DeBerry, 77, a native of Nashville, a trustee and an eminent alumnus of Fisk, who died in Springfield, Mass, on January 20.

Josephine Baker (Madame Jo Bouillon) spoke to the Fisk student body and faculty on January 27; she also consented to be European representative for the *Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations* published by the social science department of the university.

Convocation address at the mid-year graduation exercises of the WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was delivered by Dr. Ambrose Caliver, specialist for higher education, U. S. Office of Education. There were forty-one candidates for degrees.

Recent guest speakers at the college have been Rabbi Louis A. Josephson of Fairmount, W. Va., who spoke on "Jews in the United States"; and Mrs. Ruth Jeffers of the Horace Mann school, Kanawha City, Charleston, W. Va., who discussed "The Theory of Audio-Visual Aids." The art department under the direction of Glenn

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Lum Studio

HIGHEST RANKING VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE STUDENTS *talking over matters of the moment. Ruth H. Coles of Charlottesville, Virginia, a senior business administration major and the highest ranking student in the class of '48, talks over matters of the moment with Cletus Stamper of Schenectady, New York, who is one of the highest ranking members of the senior class.*

Evans held its annual exhibit in the college library in January.

The HOWARD UNIVERSITY *a cappella* choir broadcast over the Columbia network on January 18 and 25. University officials announce that the Office of Naval Research has placed a contract with the Howard department of chemistry to do research on a special project, the oxidation of hydroxylamine. Dr. Kelso B. Morris is director of the one-year research study.

Annual founders' day exercises were observed at HAMPTON INSTITUTE February 1, with Rear Admiral W. L. Ainsworth, commandant of the fifth naval district; General Jacob L. Devers, commanding general of the Army ground forces; and General R. Quesada, commanding general of the tactical air command, among the participants. Theme of the exercises was "The Negro in the Armed Forces of the United States," with Dr. John Hope Franklin, professor of history at Howard, as principal guest speaker.

White students at the UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA solemnly cremated a copy of the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution on January 29 in protest against the state's ban on Negro students at the university. The ashes were then mailed to President Truman.

Presidents of twenty-three New York colleges are among the presidents of 172 leading colleges who have issued a call to Negro students to apply for ten thousand scholarships. These boards comprise the BOARD OF THE COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIIP FUND for Negro students.

The fund helps Negro students to finance their education at 968 non-segregated, interracial institutions. According to fund officials few Negro students are aware that thousands of scholarships are available to them.

Among the New York college presidents represented on the board are Dr. Harry N. Wright, City College; Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, Union Theological Seminary; Dr. George N. Shuster, Hunter college; Mother Eleanor M. O'Byrne, Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart; and Dr. Paul Klapper, Queens college.

Editorials

ON THE EDUCATION FRONT

Good News. As a direct result of the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the University of Oklahoma (Ada Sipuel) case, the trustees of the University of Delaware have announced that Negro applicants for graduate and professional courses not offered to them elsewhere in the state will be admitted without segregation. This is the first non-quibbling action on the problem of education for Negroes on the graduate level in those states maintaining separate schools for the races. One more door has been opened, and Delaware is to be congratulated upon its forthright action.

The board of education of Freehold, N. J., has announced that beginning next September Negro students will not be required to attend one certain school, but will enter the one nearest their homes, thus doing away with the segregation which has been the rule for as long as memory runs. The action was taken to conform to the new state constitution which prohibits segregation in the public schools. Two years ago forward-looking white and colored citizens of Trenton, New Jersey's capital city, abolished segregation in its schools and now has (with everyone happy) Negro teachers assigned without regard to race, and colored children in many of the schools.

Fair News. The University of Arkansas announced after the Sipuel decision that it would accept qualified Negro applicants for its law school, but that they would be taught in a separate classroom in the building. One student already has enrolled and is attending his classes. He was greeted in friendly fashion by the faculty and student body and no incident has taken place. This arrangement constitutes a crack in the door, but the separate classroom is humiliating and, while offering Negroes an opportunity to study law, does not offer the *equality of opportunity* which is their right under the Constitution. However, the awkwardness of a separate classroom for one or two students, plus the inevitable conferences and consultations which will throw the white and colored law students together, may do what the university officials were too timid to do at the outset. There is abundant evidence that young white and Negro Americans are determined to get along together in a pattern of life different from that of their parents and grandparents. A separate classroom, a ridiculous concession to a dying past, will not thwart them for long.

Bad News. In the Ada Sipuel Fisher case in Oklahoma the news is bad. Despite the January 12 order of the U. S. Supreme Court, Oklahoma authorities refused to admit Mrs. Fisher to the law school at the university. Instead they drew out of a hat (within a week) a separate law school for Negroes to be set up in the state capital. Mrs. Fisher did not enter, nor did any others apply. An appeal to the highest court for a writ was denied. Mrs. Fisher's NAACP attorneys are now planning new action in the state courts, in effect beginning the case all over again.

Oklahoma could have taken the graceful step like Delaware, or like Texas did after the white primary decision. But she chose to do otherwise, largely, it is said, on the advice of one man in the powerful key position. The Sipuel fight will go on and eventually the full victory will come. The tide of national and world events is running against the Oklahoma antics.

NO JIM CROW SOLDIERS

NEW JERSEY has abolished segregation in its National Guard. The new state constitution prohibits such separation and Governor Albert E. Driscoll ordered his military chiefs to obey the constitution regardless of national army policy. The first Negro already has been sworn into service in a so-called "white" unit.

The governor of Connecticut long ago went on record in public and in writing against segregation in the Guard of his state. He was halted by (a) the army policy handed down by Washington and (b) a jim-crow Negro who pleaded for a separate unit "so Negroes could be officers." Now that New Jersey has been successful Governor James L. McConaughy is renewing his efforts against segregation.

In New York a bill has been introduced in the state legislature outlawing separation according to race in the National Guard. It has a good chance of passage and Governor Dewey is said to be willing to sign it. Now, let Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and California get busy. Minnesota made a determined but losing fight some years ago; let it be renewed.

There is utterly no excuse for the men in the armed services of a free and democratic people being separated according to color. And that mans that Negro Americans oppose jim-crow universal military training.

REVOLT AGAINST AMERICA

THE southern professional politicians and officeholders who have staged a "revolt" within the Democratic party as a protest against the civil rights program of President Truman in reality are in revolt against decency, human dignity, democracy, and America itself.

They do not want the kind of America set up by the Constitution. They do not want freedom and equality for all. They do not want universal suffrage, either of whites or of Negroes. They do not want decent wages and equality of opportunity in employment. They do not want labor unions. They do not want education for the masses, either of whites or Negroes. They do not want freedom from terror and death by the mob.

They do not want *any* government, in Washington or anywhere else, to tell them they shall not lynch human beings, or exploit labor on a virtual slave level, or execute or imprison men with mock trials, or perpetuate the system by guns and taxes and trickery in elections.

A government that does this, they say, is "an insult to the South," "a menace to southern traditions," "an invader of state's rights," "a perverter of the democracy of Jefferson and Jackson."

Look at the revolutionists: Senators Maybank and Johnston, of South Carolina, where Willie Earle was lynched at Greenville by a mob of taxi drivers who later admitted their guilt, but got off scot free. Or Senators Russell and George, of Georgia, where two Negro men and their wives were lined up and shot down in Walton county by a mob of white men, not one of whom has even been arrested.

The revolutionists want an America where no one will be able to make them stop lynching. They want to stop lynching when they get good and ready. They don't want anyone to stop the one-day "trials" such as that given a Negro mother and her two sons in Americus, Georgia, February 3, only one day after their indictment.

These people live in America, but they are not Americans; they are white southerners, a breed apart. President Truman, win, lose or draw, is head and shoulders above them and is honored by their opposition.

PRESIDENT WESLEY *receives Prince Orizu (seated at Dr. Wesley's right) and a group of African students enrolled at the College of Education and Industrial Arts.*

The "New" Wilberforce

By Reid E. Jackson

A survey of the College of Education and Industrial Arts, at Wilberforce University, Greene County, Ohio, its genesis, policies and curricula

TO appreciate the emergence of the "new" Wilberforce, one should be definitely accurate and clear as to those historical forces which have shaped its development. While most people, including Wilberforce alumni, have had a vague notion that Wilberforce University has been the site of protracted conflict between the "church" and "state," as typified through the division of the campus by the ravine, very few of these same people *actually* know the story of the rise of Wilberforce as one of the leading universities, for Negroes, in America.

Wilberforce University, named after the English statesman and abolitionist, William Wilberforce, was founded originally in 1885 by the Methodist Episcopal church (white), for the higher education of Negroes, and called "The Ohio African University." One year later, in 1856, this name was changed to "Wilberforce University, of the ME church." This action was approved by a board of twenty-four incorporators, including Governor Samuel P. Chase, of the state of Ohio. Thus, the interest of the state of Ohio in education at Wilberforce stems from this participation by Governor Chase in the incorporation of the original institution. The African Methodist Episcopal church then gained possession of the institution, largely through the efforts of Bishop Daniel A. Payne, who, on March 10, 1863, purchased the property for the AME church. On July 10, 1863, the institution was newly incorporated as "Wilberforce University of the AME church." In rapid succession the following departments were established by the AME church in the university: the theological, in 1865; the classical and scientific, in 1867; and the normal, in 1872.

The charter secured, by the AME church for "Wilberforce University of the AME church," stated that the university was incorporated "for the purpose of promoting education, religion, and morality among the colored race . . . to furnish the educational means of a real course of education to the colored race . . . and the institution shall be and forever remain under the management, direction and control of the African Methodist Episcopal church, and for that, a majority of the board of directors and trustees shall always be members of said African Methodist Episcopal church."

Early History

The cooperation of the state of Ohio in education at Wilberforce University was crystallized further, when the Ohio state legislature enacted a bill on March 19, 1887, authorizing the establishment of a combined normal and industrial department *at* Wilberforce University, in Green County, Ohio. This same act created a board of trustees *"to take, keep and maintain exclusive authority, direction, supervi-*

sion, and control over the operations and conduct of said Normal and Industrial Department [author's italics] so as to assure for it the best attainable results with the aid . . . secured . . . from the state."

A further provision of the Act of 1887 stipulated that "no sectarian influence, direction or interference in the management or conduct of the affairs of education of said department shall be permitted . . . and the department shall be open to all applicants of good moral character." Hence, since the AME church was sectarian and since Wilberforce University was designed expressly for Negroes, the combined normal and industrial department could not legally become a part of Wilberforce University; thus furnishing a *raison d'être* for a very unique and interesting arrangement in joint education by "church" and "state."

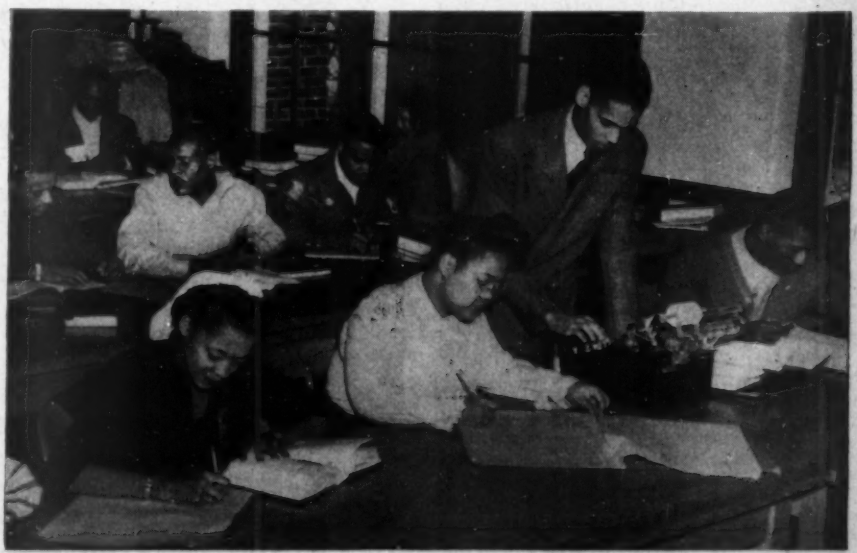
Between 1887 and 1947, a series of amendments to the original act of 1887 were passed by the Ohio general assembly, and these have preserved the legal entity of the state unit at Wilberforce University as a separate and complete educational institution. By the act of August 19, 1941, the combined normal and industrial department was reorganized as the "College of Education and Industrial Arts, *at* Wilberforce University, Greene County, Ohio." Accordingly, Wilberforce, as the general public knew it, included two colleges—one, liberal arts and the other, education—when, as a matter of fact, there were two separate colleges; namely, the college of liberal arts and sciences, controlled by the AME church and the college of education and industrial arts maintained by the state of Ohio. This meant that two separate diplomas were handed the "so-called" Wilberforce University graduate—one issued by the AME church for the college of liberal arts graduate and the other awarded by the state of Ohio to the college of education graduate.

In an effort to bolster the waning finances of the AME church, a "clock-hour agreement" was reached between the state of Ohio and Wilberforce University, whereby the combined normal and industrial department would refrain from teaching liberal arts courses to all students enrolled in the C. N. and I Department. For this instruction, the state of Ohio agreed "to pay the University, as such, the actual clock hour cost of all instruction given state students." This money was used by the AME church to pay teacher salaries in the college of liberal arts and sciences. By 1946, this sum amounted to approximately $70,000, with the prospect that it would increase in 1947 to about $78,000. It should be mentioned also that the "clock-hour agreement" provided that the C. N. and I. department, "give all vocational and professional instruction."

PROFESSOR JAMES THURMAN HENRY *lecturing to a group of students on the rotation of the solar system.*

Ostensibly, in order to smooth the difficulty in the operation of the two trustee boards at Wilberforce University, a "joint executive committee," including three members of the state board and three members from the church board, was established in 1941. This committee was to have "authority to regulate all matters where the interests of the college of liberal arts and the college of education and industrial arts overlap and should be unified." The truth of the matter is that this "joint executive committee" rarely met and accomplished little, because of the constant "jockeying" for control between the church and state boards—despite an educationally sound set of by-laws. And among these by-laws were the following:

> All questions involving the authority, integrity and operation of these colleges in which related issues are concerned, shall be acted upon by this body and adjudicated by majority vote. Such a vote shall be regarded as final and should be accepted by both boards of trustees.
>
> If one board should approve a nomination and the other decline to do so, then there is no election of a president and another nomination must be made. In no case should there ever be occasion for the election of two



STUDENTS IN THE DIVISION OF BUSINESS *at the College of Education and Industrial Arts.*

separate presidents. Such a situation should be reported by the JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE immediately to the secretary of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the continued accreditation of the institution would be brought under consideration.

The president shall be removed for cause from office by action of the JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, which shall be approved by both boards of trustees. Such action may be initiated by the majority vote of either of the boards, which shall also constitute charges and specifications, and a recommendation for action to the JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. This committee shall act upon the charges and specifications as presented. The accused shall have the right of a hearing and a stenographic report of the proceedings shall be made. The decision of the JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE shall be sent to each board, which will act by majority vote. The vote of both boards shall be necessary for legal removal of a president.

This Joint Executive Committee, in 1942, elected Dr. Charles H. Wesley as president of Wilberforce University.

Factors in Separation

Wilberforce University first received recognition by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in 1939, when the school was granted *provisional accreditation.* On April 2, 1943, the North Central Association bestowed full accreditation on Wilberforce University and dismissed its special advisory committee, which had studied the problem of accreditation for Wilberforce University ever since 1939.

At the same time that Wilberforce University was securing North Central Association accreditation, the church board was intensifying its efforts to "control" the president. Subsequently, the North Central Association inquired of the church board of trustees as to their "conception of the place and function of the board of trustees in the control of Wilberforce University." Not receiving a satisfactory answer, the Board of Review of the North Central Association, on December 19, 1944, voted to appoint a special committee "to make an investigation, at Wilberforce University, to determine whether a complete survey is needed as a basis for continuing the institution on the accredited list." On April 10, 1945, the special committee informed President Wesley that it considered "unsound the present condition of control of the institution through two boards of trustees. If the conditions are not remedied by the time the investigating committee makes its visit, the Board of Review will probably find it necessary in order to complete survey of Wilberforce University, during the winter of 1945-1946, to determine whether the institution should be continued on the accredited list."

These "unsound conditions," referred to by the special committee, revolved around a ten-point recommendation made to Wilberforce University in the 1945 Wildman-Fairchild Report; namely, (1) a general re-survey of Wilberforce is not warranted; (2) the church board should appoint two additional members of the state board to membership on the church board; (3) there should be at least one annual joint meeting of the two boards; (4) the joint executive committee should be a real functioning agency with regularly scheduled meetings; (5) the composition of the church board should be changed so as to include less bishops and churchman and more alumni members, as well as not to be self-perpetuating; (6) the by-laws should be amended so as to read "recommended by the president"; (7) there should be a restudy of the financial set-up looking toward a centralized system; (8) agenda for board meetings should be prepared jointly by the university president and each board president; (9) definite improvement is needed in the publicity and public relations program; and (10) everyone at Wilberforce should unite in a common program.

After the church board continued to procrastinate and balk at meeting some of these recommendations, proposed by the Wildman-Fairchild Report, a resurvey was finally ordered by the North Central Association Board of Review and executed in February, 1947.

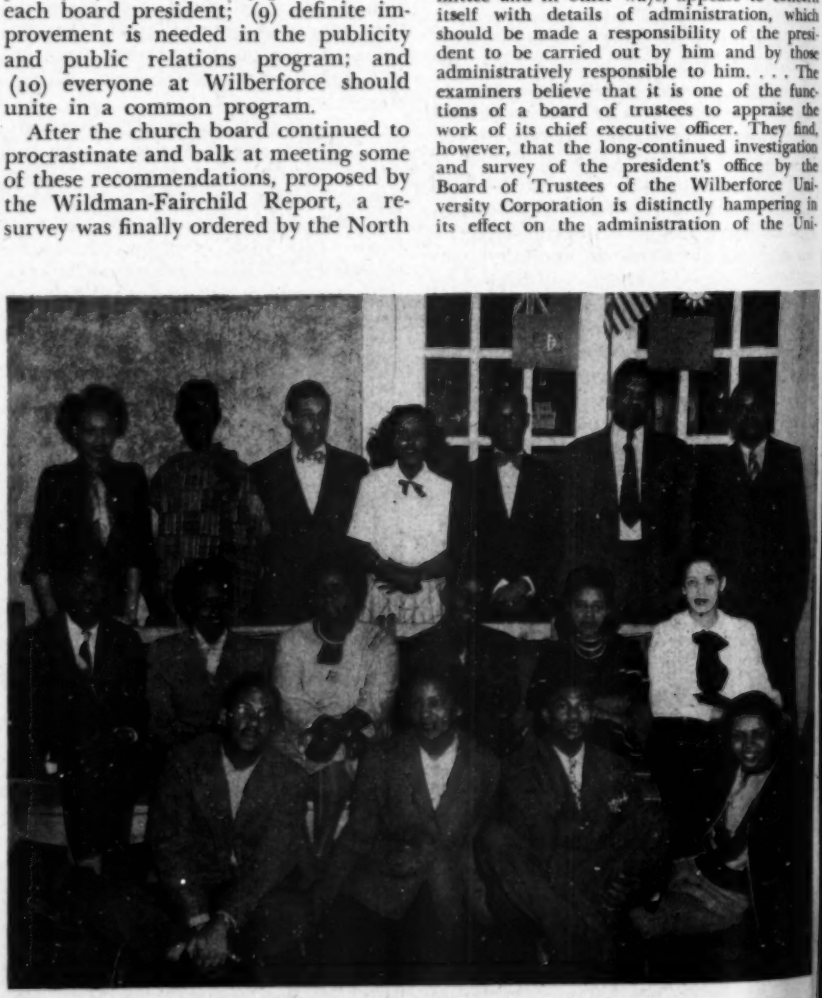
Form of Control Criticized

Major criticisms, in the report of the North Central Examining Committee, centered around the form of control and business administration. Commenting upon the two boards of trustees, the report said:

> The Board of Trustees of the College of Education and Industrial Arts rates decidedly higher on the score card than the Board of Trustees of the Wilberforce University Corporation church. However, since the institution was scored as a unit the unified score under the heading of General Control was only 418 out of a possible 1000 points. This score places the institution in the lowest 10 per cent of colleges and universities in the North Central Association.

Summarizing their investigation of the boards of trustees, the examining committee concluded:

> The Board of Trustees of Wilberforce University Corporation church through its committee and in other ways, appears to concern itself with details of administration, which should be made a responsibility of the president to be carried out by him and by those administratively responsible to him. . . . The examiners believe that it is one of the functions of a board of trustees to appraise the work of its chief executive officer. They find, however, that the long-continued investigation and survey of the president's office by the Board of Trustees of the Wilberforce University Corporation is distinctly hampering in its effect on the administration of the Uni-



FOREIGN STUDENTS *at State College come from British West Africa, the West Indies, and Cuba. British West Africa furnishes the largest contingent.*

versity. . . . Each of the two boards concerned with the control of Wilberforce University appears to need reconstitution so as to insure a broader basis of representation in the general direction of the institution.

In regard to the business administration, the report declared:

The maintenance of two separate and distinct business offices, one under the control of the Board of Trustees of the Wilberforce University Corporation church and the other under the direction of the College of Education and Industrial Arts, appears to involve great duplication of services and therefore waste of institutional funds. The duality of fiscal administration is accompanied, to some extent, by a duality in academic administration which appears to be educationally undesirable.

On the basis of the criticisms mentioned above, along with other minor weaknesses, the accreditation of Wilberforce University was revoked by the North Central Association in March, 1947. This, indeed, was a severe blow to alumni and friends, alike, of Wilberforce University.

Meanwhile, in an effort to accord with the recommendations of the North Central Association, the state board of trustees for the College of Education and Industrial Arts became one of the sponsors for legislation, passed by the Ohio General Assembly during its 1947 session, which not only revamped the occupational spread of the state trustee board but also changed the ratio of state-church members from 6-3 to 8 members appointed by the state, and one by the church. Other provisions of the act changed the title of superintendent, as fiscal officer, to business manager and made the president, in effect, the chief executive officer of the College of Education and Industrial Arts.

Seemingly angered by this combination of events—the loss of North Central Accreditation and the amended bill for state control of the College of Education and Industrial Arts—the church board summarily dismissed Dr. Wesley as president of Wilberforce University on June 11, 1947 (one day before commencement) by a 16 to 5 vote. Cause for this action was given by the board as "an incompetent administration leading to loss of the North Central Rating." In discharging President Wesley, however, the church board claimed that they were withdrawing from only that section of the joint-executive-committee agreement, which related to the election and removal of the president. At the same time, the church board refused to accept the newly-elected trustee alumni representatives to their board, and, instead, adopted a new plan for composition of the board that would provide for greater divergence of representation, within the board, according to church districts. Sentiment also was expressed that there was no need for the North Central Association "to tell the AME church how to run Wilberforce University."

Close upon the heels of the action of the Wilberforce University Church Corporation in separating the College of Liberal Arts from a single and unified administration, the state board for the College of Education and Industrial Arts, meeting in regular session on June 19, 1947, voted full confidence in President Wesley to proceed at once with reorganization of the educational program of the College of Education and Industrial Arts, so as to include work in the liberal arts and sciences. A few days later, at a meeting on the Wilberforce campus, the Wilberforce National Alumni Association likewise passed a resolution praising the administration of President Wesley. Furthermore, the Alumni Association called upon both the state and church boards to meet again, through the joint executive committee, in an effort to resolve the "present difficulties" at Wilberforce University.

Educational College Reorganized

Through faculty action and board approval, the College of Education and and Industrial Arts was reorganized into nine divisions, including: (1) arts and sciences; (2) agriculture; (3) business; (4) education; (5) health, physical education, recreation, and athletics; (6) home economics; (7) industries; (8) military science and tactics; and (9) music. This divisional organization superseded the original organization of the College of Education into five divisions: namely, (1) general educational theory; (2) elementary teacher education; (3) secondary teacher education; (4) special subjects in education; and (5) applied arts.

The immediate advantage of this new curricular organization was the closer articulation of courses. Perhaps the broadest of the new divisions was the new Division of Arts and Sciences offering work in twenty-one different liberal arts fields, leading to the bachelor of science degree in fifteen areas: arts, biology, chemistry, economics, English, French, geography, history, mathematics, physics, philosophy, psychology, social administration, sociology, and speech and dramatics. Pre-professional curricula in clinical technology, dentistry, law, and medicine were established, too, along with additional expansion in the fine arts, embracing art and music.

To accommodate the new curricular organization and to insure proper educational supervision, the administrative positions of divisional directors and departmental chairmen were created. Directors of divisions, who were expected to possess the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent, were charged with the over-all responsibility of integrating and correlating the work of the various departments within their respective division, as well as between the various divisions of the college. Chairman of departments, directly responsible to the divisional directors, assumed the task of organizing the various areas of work within each departmental field, but remaining at the helm of the academic program was the dean of the college.

Basic to the development of activity in these reorganized divisions were the following institutional objectives:

The ability to use the English language with clear, accurate, cogent expression; the ability to read English, with reasonable facility and comprehension; The ability to use simple mathematical calculations; The ability for problem-solving in accordance with the methods and spirit of modern science; The ability to read, with facility, one modern foreign language.

Taking their cue from the abovementioned objectives, the general faculty of the College of Education and Industrial Arts, on October 17, 1947, adopted a new program of general education consistent with the idea that the program in general education should reveal "the implications of the major areas of human knowledge for the process of developing and adjusting student personalities to the problems of an everyday and campus world . . . and follow the pattern of integration in basic facts, peculiar to the various areas of human knowledge, for the purpose of giving adequate answer to common and basic problems in living, instead of endeavoring to coincide with traditional course-line in these varying subject-matter fields."

Progressive Features

While not new in educational procedures, the creation of the office of Dean of Students in September, 1947, centralized all the personnel services at the College of Education and Industrial Arts. With the institution of this new office it became possible to coordinate the entire guidance and personnel program under the supervision of the dean of students. In short, the dean of students became directly responsible for the non-academic activities of the more than 1,000 students enrolled in the College of Education and Industrial Arts. Aiding the dean of students in this program are two assistant deans of students, one for men

(Continued on page 92)

The Vietnamese Struggle For Independence

By George Padmore

A review of French imperialism in Asia in its attempt to destroy the Indo-Chinese nationalist movement

WHAT makes one more and more sceptical about the efficiency of a world organization such as UN, what is rendering documents such as the Atlantic Charter and the San Francisco Charter more and more void of significance, is the attitude of the Colonial Powers towards the subject peoples. The case of France and Viet Nam is illuminating.

After the Japanese capitulation, Indo-China was occupied, in the north by the Chinese and in the south by the British, in order to dispose of Japanese troops stationed there. This was the effect of a decision secretly taken at Potsdam. The British allowed the French in their area; the Chinese adopted a neutral policy, while being very busy looting in Tonkin and North Annam. The Viet Nam nationalists were able to extend their control all over the territory. By the beginning of 1946 Cochin-China fell back under the authority of the French, who, however, held only the main towns. The nationalists here were driven underground but continued their guerilla activities. In the north, the Chinese withdrew reluctantly and on March 6, 1946, the French signed a preliminary convention with the Nationalist goveriment which recognized Viet Nam as a free state, with its own parliament, army and finance.

Cochin-China, whose population is 85 per cent Annamese speaking, is a rich rice and rubber producing province. Under the March 6 convention it was agreed that it would decide its future status by referendum. An *annexe* to the accord conceded to the French the right to maintain 15,000 troops on Viet Nam territory, which were to be reduced at the rate of 3,000 a year ,making evacuation complete within five years. The movement of these troops was to be subject to the approval of Viet Nam headquarters. By virtue of these terms, the French moved into Viet Nam without nationalist opposition. Between April 19 and May 11, 1946, a conference at Dalat discussed Viet Nam's status within the Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union (new name for the pre-war French Empire), its diplomatic representation abroad, and Cochin-China's future. Three weeks of passionate debate produced very few results. The French and Annamese conceptions were basically divergent. Only provisional agreements were attained with respect to federal currency, customs, and the safeguarding of French cultural and economic interests. A final parley to be held in Paris, was to settle outstanding issues.

According to the principles outlined for the new French Union, French colonies are supposed to be integral parts of the French nation. But the French colonials are skeptical, and AFRICANUS, writing in *The New African,* comments as follows:

"There was surprisingly little debate in the first French Constituent Assembly over the organization of the French Union. Everybody agreed with everybody else, and the press was indifferent. There is something peculiarly disturbing when issues can be agreed upon so easily. Ordinarily, the voting would have aroused either hot emotion or endless haggling. Perhaps, however, they were trying to fool the colonials when they adopted principles which they knew would never be put into practice. So far as the native is concerned nothing has changed at all. So the colonials say, 'The principles are OK, but who is going to apply them, and how?' "

Autonomous Republic Proclaimed

On May 1, 1946, French troops arbitrarily occupied the former building of the governor general, but which then housed the Viet Nam finance ministry. A strong protest from the Vietnamese resulted in a joint body to guard the building. At the end of May a delegation of Vietnamese proceeded to France. On June 1, 1946, Admiral d'Argenlieu, French High Commissioner for Indo-China, proclaimed Cochin-China to be an autonomous republic, although the promised referendum had not been held. Seven of the eleven members of the Provisional goveriment, headed by Dr. Nguyen van Thinh, a native millionaire rice grower and notorious Japanese collaborator, enjoyed French citizenship. The other four were French, and the cabinet was entirely responsible to Admiral d'Argenlieu.

The second Franco-Vietnamese conference opened at Fontainebleau on July 9, 1946. France was represented by a business man, some colonial civil servants, naval and military experts, and three deputies from the major parties—Communist, MRP, and Socialist. All the Vietnamese delegates were members of the Republic's cabinet. The instability of France's internal politics and the lack of responsibility of the French delegation, increased the difficulties of the negotiations. The cleavage between the viewpoints of the two parties proved unbridgeable. The last blow to success was given by a fresh maneuver of Admiral d'Argenlieu on August 1, 1946. Representatives of Cochin-China, Cambodia, Laos and South Annam were summoned to Dalat to work out the status of the Indo-Chinese Federation, one of the main tasks of the Fontainebleau meeting. The Vietnamese envoys voted for the suspension of their conversations with the French until the equivocal

situation was ended. The deadlock would have continued indefinitely had President Ho Chi Minh not concluded a *modus vivendi* with French Colonial Minister Moutet on September 13. Only minor problems, such as a custom union, federal currency, safeguarding of French interests and cessation of hostilities between guerillas and the French in Indo-China were arranged. The agreement was due to come into force on October 31, 1946. Mixed commissions were to be appointed to settle technical details of implementing the agreements. A cease-fire order was given and carried out at once by the nationalists, and a period of calm followed, in which hopes of an improvement in French-Vietnamese relations rose high. However, Dr. Thinh committed suicide on November 9, leaving a letter in which he said that he "was tired of playing the farce staged by the French."

On November 19, French authorities in Indo-China created a customs house in Haiphong to control Vietnamese foreign trade, without the establishment of the mixed commissions which had been agreed upon. The Vietnamese protested and, fighting between them and the French broke out. A liaison body, despite elaborate efforts, did not succeed in bringing about a truce. Fresh clashes occurred in Lang-Son, a Tonkin strategic point. On December 3, the French acting high commissioner in Tonkin, General Molière, sent an ultimatum requiring Viet Nam to evacuate Haiphong completely and to hand over the police of this port to the French troops. On December 9, 1946, French reinforcements landed at Tourane (Annam), and a week later the French took over the finance and communications ministries in Hanoi. President Ho Chi Minh cabled President Léon Blum proposals for a peaceful settlement of the conflict and received no response. New incidents occurred at Hué, capital of Annam, at Nam Dinh and Haiduong (Tonkin). Viet Nam's president renewed his peace offers, but M. Saintery, high commissioner for Tonkin refused to meet the Viet Nam foreign under secretary. The tense situation deteriorated daily, and on December 19, 1946, general fighting started in Hanoi and slowly spread down to the south.

M. Léon Blum then sent M. Moutet and General Leclerc to investigate the situation. Meantime, 8,000 reinforcement troops were embarked for Indo-China. M. Moutet arrived at Saïgon and met with Dr. de Van Hoach, Dr. Thinh's successor at the head of the Cochin-Chinese government and former commissioner of the occupying Japanese police. President Ho Chi Minh indefatigably broadcast peace messages to M. Léon Blum and M. Moutet, urging resumption of negotiations on the basis of the September 13 *modus vivendi*.

Viet Nam Held Responsible

In a speech delivered at Saïgon, M. Moutet laid the responsibility of the conflict at the door of Viet Nam. A resolution of the League of the Rights of Man, the Cultural and Marxist Group, the Indo-Chinese Socialist section, and other organizations, requested M. Moutet to recall Admiral d'Argenlieu, to bring an end to the hostilities, and to appoint a mixed commission with a view to creating a favorable atmosphere for the renewal of negotiations. An invitation was broadcast to M. Moutet by Ho Chi Minh for an interview.

Before M. Moutet and General Leclerc left for Hanoi, Admiral d'Argenlieu flew to the Tonkin capital. French representatives in Nankin were reported to have approached the Kuomintang-backed Vietnamese conservatives, who had taken refuge in China, with a view to forming a moderate government with whom the French were prepared to open conversations. In Hanoi, Admiral d'Argenlieu declared that he held the Viet Nam government responsible for the present crisis. French troops there dug out, on January 2, 1947, M. Nguyen Manh Ha, leader of the Catholic Youth Movement, and put him under their protection. Rumors circulated that he might be the moderate representative of the Viet Nam people with whom there was some chance of an understanding. On January 3, 1947, M. Moutet arrived in Hanoi, where he was reported to have been shot at by the Vietnamese guerillas. He denied that he had received any invitation from President Ho Chi Minh, and confirmed Admiral d'Argenlieu's opinion as to the responsibility of the Viet Nam government for the present state of affairs. "A military decision was necessary," he added, "before any talks could be resumed."

In an interview with the Press on January 6, 1947, M. Nguyen Manh Ha stated that he was supporting the Viet Nam government and desired that France would come to an agreement with this government. M. Moutet returned to France without meeting with Ho Chi Minh. On January 16, strict wartime censorship was reestablished on press despatches from Indo-China. At a press conference in Paris, a French Foreign Ministry spokesman urged the *Colonial Powers to adopt a common policy with France in relation to the subject peoples of South East Asia if they did not want to see a Communist outpost established in Viet Nam, the noxious influence of which would extend to Burma, Malaya and Indonesia.*

Disorders Spread

Disorder now spread to Cochin-China. The French installed provisional government there admitted that their confidence was shaken by the ever-growing nationalist authority. Though President Ho Chi Minh's message of congratulation and peace to the newly elected French President, M. Vincent Auriol, was reported in the press, the French authorities issued a categorical denial of it. On January 27, 1947, Admiral d'Argenlieu gave confirmation to the policy outlined by the French Foreign Office ten days earlier, in order to stem the tide of Communism in South East Asia.

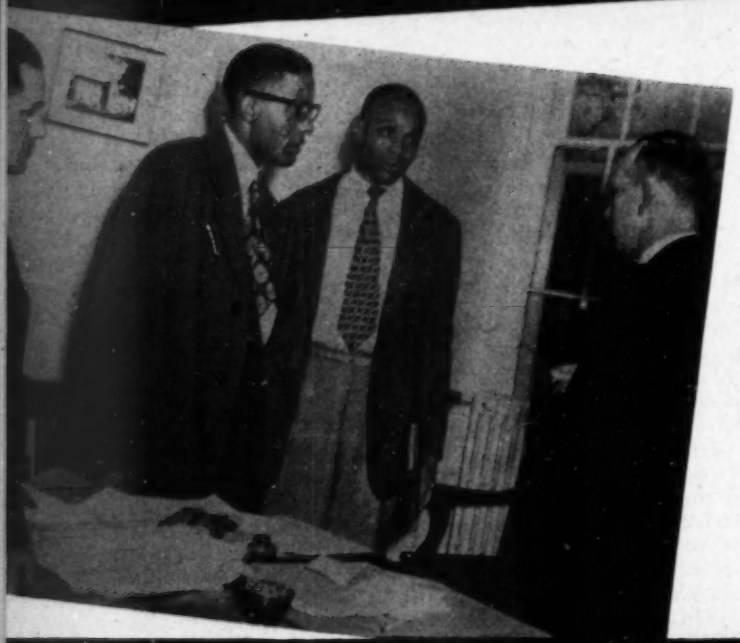
Recently the replacement of Admiral d'Argenlieu as high commissioner for Indo-China was announced unofficially, and immediately denied by the French radio. On February 5, Cochin-China was officially proclaimed a free state member of the Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union. Pending the election of a National Assembly, the provisional government and a French appointed council will be in charge of legislation.

This measure coincided with an increase and extension of guerilla fighting throughout the south.

In the light of the events which have been carefully described here, to facilitate a thorough understanding of the problem, some facts emerge clearly. First, the preliminary convention of March 6, 1946, together with the *annexe* of April 3, enabled the French to occupy the nationalist controlled area without loss or effort. The subsequent successive encroachments were neither surprising nor unpredictable. The reluctance of the French, illustrated in the dilatory way in which they called the first Dalat conference and the Fontainebleau meeting, and the small interest they took in these conversations were evident signs of wilful procrastination. The French expected that their playing for time would contribute to the economic collapse of the country, already strained by two occupations. The French military authorities were led to launch the offensive in the belief that the time had come to give Viet Nam the last blow. Their attempts to form a moderate government, similar to the

(Continued on page 91)

NEGRO LEADERS *confer with House Speaker Joseph Martin (R., Mass.) in an effort to remove jim-crow restrictions from universal military training bill: L. to R., Bill Worthy, Jr., Philip Randolph, Speaker Martin, Albert Black, and Josept Evans.*

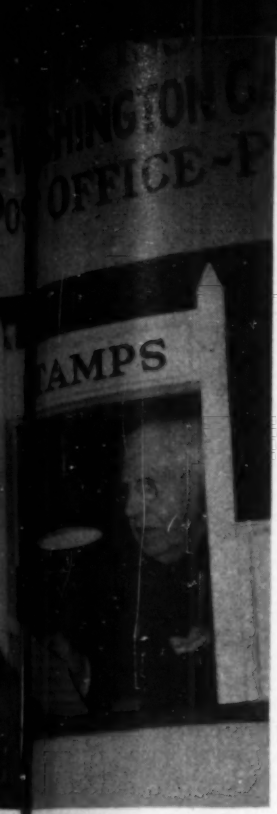


UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS *law school enrolls first Negro in the person of Silas Hunt (third from left), of Texarkana, Arkansas. Hunt, however, will use special or jim-crow facilities.*

FIRST CARVER STAMP ON SALE *sells the first sheet of George stamps to Judge Herbert E. Mil Philadelphia,*

In The

KKK BURNS CROSS *in front of the Emanuel county court house in Swainsboro, Georgia, after a parade around the public square. There were approximately 125 participants in the demonstration.*



...tmaster Joseph F. Gallagher ...gton Carver commemorative ...ring special ceremonies at the ...ost office.

NEGRO NURSE *sworn into regular Navy: Ensign Edith Devoe, USNR, of Washington, is sworn into the Nurse Corps of the regular Navy by Captain Ogden D. King, USN. Miss Devoe is now on duty at the Navy Communication Annex Dispensary in Washington, D. C.*

FAMED SPRINTER. *E. McDonald, Bailey, of Trinidad, who holds the British record, begins training for the summer events, in the Queen's Park Rangers F. C. Ground in London, England.*

...e News

GANDHI'S FUNERAL PYRE. *Police, the military, and volunteer guards attempt to beat back a portion of the huge crowd as it surges toward the funeral pyre of Mohandas K. Gandhi.*

Mahatma Gandhi—India's Bapu

By Sirdar J. J. Singh

BAPU is dead. Bapu means father. Almost everyone in India called Mahatma Gandhi Bapu or Bapuji—the addition of the word JI denotes affection and reverence.

Bapu is dead. This cry was first heard on January 30, 1948, at about 5:30 p.m. in the palatial house of millionaire G. D. Birla, where Gandhi was staying and where he was assassinated.

At 6 p.m., the All Indian Radio carried the news to millions of listeners. Newspaper extras were in the streets within an hour. Word of mouth spread the news from village to village, and before midnight 400 million men, women and children in India and Pakistan were saying—Bapu is dead.

The news stunned not only the people of India and Pakistan, but the whole world. People everywhere were saddened. Even those who had looked upon Gandhi as a mystic and had never felt close to him, all of a sudden felt very close to him. His death, somehow represented a personal loss to them.

It is very significant to note that 70 million Moslems in Pakistan were stunned, too. A newspaperman reporting form Lahore, Pakistan, had the following to say of that day: "A thick cloud of gloom flashed like lightning throughout the West Punjab (Pakistan). Social gatherings all over the city instantaneously broke up. People, drowned in deep sorrow and regret and unable to comment on the colossal tragedy, only whispered to each other their heartfelt sorrow."

Thus even the Moslems of West Punjab (Pakistan), who like the Sikhs and Hindus of East Punjab (India) are so embittered because of the recent massacres and migrations in those areas, felt the gloom of the tragedy and were drowned in sorrow and grief.

What did Bapu mean to India? Well, books and books will have to be written to portray the different facets of Mahatma Gandhi's life and their impact upon the people of India. No one could dare to attempt to portray the different aspects of Gandhi's life, his philosophies and his influences in a short piece like this.

However, I do want to touch upon just one aspect of Gandhi's service to India.

In Gandhi's death the humble people of the world lost a teacher and a friend. In India his death is regarded as personal and this article explains why

Wide World

MAHATMA GANDHI
He brought an empire to heel.

Gandhi Removed Fear

I wish to suggest that if Gandhi had died after having done just that, he would have gone down in history as one of the Teachers who visit the earth from time to time.

I do not know of anything more horrible than fear. It is fear which is the curse of mankind—fear of death, fear of disease, fear of lack of food, fear of security, fear of hurt and injury to self and those one loves, fear of stronger opponents, fear of opposing idealogies, fear of this and fear of that; one could go on ad infinitum. Is not our present-day world suffering from fear? Is not the United States, the most powerful country in the world, afraid of the spread of communism and Soviet Russia's political power? Is not Soviet Russia, the second most powerful country in the world, afraid of the United States and its capitalistic system? Is it not fear which is bringing these two great countries to a headlong crash, which may destroy the whole human race?

Yes, fear is the worst enemy of mankind. And Gandhi succeeded in removing fear from the people of India in their fight against British imperialist rule in India.

I was in India in 1918-1919, when Gandhi first became an all-India leader, when Gandhi's name first began to be heard from corner to corner of that sub-continent. I also remember that at that time most people were afraid to talk about the freedom of India. I remember that British imperialists, through their Gestapo tactics had spread dread all over the country. If we wanted to talk about freedom and independence, we had to close our doors and speak in hushed tones lest someone might overhear and report to the dreaded C.I.D. (Criminal Investigation Department).

And suddenly, the fear was gone. Suddenly the masses who had been afraid even to mention the tabooed words, freedom and independence, began to shout it from the house tops. The

fear was gone, as if by a miracle. Gandhi had performed that miracle. And because this fear was removed, Gandhi was able to count on the support of the masses, and if there is any reality in India, it is its masses; if there is any power in India, it is its masses. Once the fear was gone, Gandhi harnessed this latent power and hurled the strength and sanction of the Indian masses at Imperialist Britian and made that mighty power knuckle down in the brief period of 28 years, 1919—1947.

Some have said that Gandhi was able to win freedom for India because the people of India were behind him. That is true. But it is also true that it was Gandhi who aroused political consciousness among the people. It was Gandhi who took the Indian National Congress to the common man. It was Gandhi who made the common man understand that the Congress Party was working for him.

If Gandhi had not brought the strength of the Indian people behind the Congress Party, that party would not have, and could not have, wielded the influence it did upon the British. I must tell you about one thing Gandhi did to make the Indian National Congress "a people's party."

Meaning of Khaddar

People in the West laughed at Gandhi's insistence on the leaders and members of the Congress party wearing *Khaddar* – hand spun, hand-woven coarse cloth. Many a brilliant man has attacked Gandhi for that. To Westerners it represented medievalism. They thought that in this machine age, insistence on wearing hand spun, hand woven cloth was setting back the clock, but Gandhi had most excellent and powerful reasons for his ideas.

First of all, it meant a great setback to the very flourishing British textile trade. Importations of Manchester mill cloth from Britain dropped to a trickling. British manufacturers and monopolists suddenly woke up.

Nothing hurts an imperialist nation more than when you touch its pocket, because imperialism has to flourish on trade gained by foul or fair means. So Gandhi, by one simple non-violent and apparently non-offensive stroke, dealt a death blow to the British textile trade in India.

But to me, the psychological aspect of Gandhi's insistence on the usage of *Khaddar* is very much more important. *Khaddar* has always been and continues to be the poor man's cloth. It is the cheapest and coarsest cloth. It is the cloth that every poor man, woman and child wears in India, that is, if they can afford even that.

Press Association

GANDHI LIES IN STATE—*The rose-petal-covered body of Mohandas K. Gandhi, his chest laid bare to expose his bullet wounds, lies in state in Birla house, New Delhi, India, January 30, as relatives and devoted followers mourn. Ava Gandhi (second from right) and Fanu Gandhi (fifth from right), Gandhi's granddaughters, are among the mourners.*

What else could have brought the Indian National Congress closer to the people than for them to see the leaders wearing the same cloth and looking just like them?

Gandhi told the leaders that the masses would never feel close to them in their fineries. They would always feel that there were gulfs between them. Gandhi told them, "What right do you have to speak for the people of India, if the people are not behind you?" He told them that by wearing the same cloth as the people wear, they would bridge some of the existing gulfs and only then would they be the true spokesmen of the people.

So it was not setting back the clock; it was not a fight against the machine age which prompted Gandhi to require his followers to wear *Khaddar*, but it was at once an attack upon the foundations of imperialism and an excellent psychological move to unite the people and the leaders in their fight against British rule.

Where do we go from here? That is the big question mark. Are the communal minded organizations and leaders going to give up their poisonous propaganda against each other and work toward Hindu-Moslem unity, or is Gandhi's martyrdom to go to waste? No one can answer that question, just yet.

Indian Reaction

The first reaction all over India after Gandhi's death was bitter denunciation of communal organizations. Three militant arms of three political-cum-religious organizations have been banned by the Government of India. By and large, people have begun to realize that communalism in its extreme form can only result in retrogression. That ascendancy of such reactionary forces, as are represented by these communal organizations, will spell ruin to the high ambitions of India to become a powerful democratic nation in Asia.

The fight against communalism and reactionary forces is today being spearheaded by the Socialist Party under the guidance of its great leader, Jai Prakash Narain. This party is wedded to the principals of democratic socialism. It wants India to be a secular state where every race, religion and creed have complete freedom to flourish, where no community is denied free opportunity for economic progress, where freedom of speech and press is guaranteed, where civil liberties are assured for all.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, though not a member of the Socialist Party, is ideologically with the Socialist Party.

If the shock of Gandhi's death, this irreparable loss to the human race, awakens the people of India to the inherent dangers of bigotism and intolerence, against which Gandhi kept on fighting until the last moment of his life, then reactionary and communal forces will begin to go down and Hindu-Moslem friendship, understanding and respect for one another may once again become ascendant.

If this happens, both India and

(*Continued on page* 91)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

NEW OFFICERS *of the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, youth council.* *Theodore H. Bell*

EDUCATION

Sipuel Case: On January 12 the U. S. Supreme Court directed that Oklahoma must immediately provide a legal education for Mrs. Ada Sipuel Fisher equal to that available to white students. At that time, the high court declared: "The petitioner is entitled to secure legal education afforded by state institutions. . . . The state must porvide it for her in conformity with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and provide it as soon as it does for applicants of any other group."

However, as a result of this decision, the state of Oklahoma, instead of admitting Mrs. Fisher to the state university, set up a separate three-professor law school especially for her. But Mrs. Fisher refused to enroll.

On January 26, NAACP attorneys returned the case of Ada Lois Sipuel to the U. S. Supreme Court, charging that the state of Oklahoma had violated the court's mandate of January 12 to admit her. Claiming that the facilities of such a law school, established for one person, cannot possibly be equal to those offered by the University of Oklahoma, the attorneys petitioned the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus to compel the state of Oklahoma to open the university law school to Mrs. Ada Sipuel Fisher.

On February 16, however, the Supreme Court declined to order the immediate admittance of Mrs. Fisher to the law school. In the unsigned opinion, the court denied Mrs. Fisher's argument that the Oklahoma courts had disobeyed the Supreme Court ruling of January 12 that she must have an equal education "as soon as the applicants of any other group." The court also held that the matter was still in the Oklahoma courts, which must rule before the Supreme Court could take further action. Justice Wiley B. Rutledge, Jr., of Iowa, dissented, saying that Mrs. Fisher should be admitted at once. He pointed out that the equality in education required by the January 12 ruling of the court was "equality in fact, not in legal fiction," and that no separate law school could be established elsewhere overnight that would be capable of giving Mrs. Fisher a legal education equal to that afforded by the long-established law school of the University of Oklahoma.

While university officials were busy barring Negroes, a thousand white students of the university were holding a mass demonstration (on January 29) at Norman denouncing these same officials for their failure to admit Negro students. Loudspeakers were set up in front of the administration building on the campus and leaders of the group made vigorous speeches in support of the NAACP action to open the school to all students, regardless of race or color.

During the demonstration, the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution was read to the crowd, then it was declared nullified by the action of the university officials, and burned. The ashes were then collected and a group of one hundred students marched to the local post office and mailed them to President Truman.

Sweatt Case: The case of Heman Marion Sweatt came back into the news on January 29 when the Court of Civil Appeals for the third supreme Judicial district of Texas heard arguments by Thurgood Marshall and W.

J. Durham on behalf of Sweatt, who is applying for admission to the law school of the University of Texas.

Sweatt was denied a writ of mandamus against members of the board of regents of the University of Texas by the district court of Travis county, Texas. In June, 1946, tthe district court had ruled that the action of the board of regents, in denying admission to Sweatt, was a denial of the appellant's constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws, though issuance of the writ was stayed six months in order to permit the state of Texas to establish a separate law school for Negroes "substantially equivalent" to the one at the University of Texas. On December 17, 1946, the district court denied a writ of mandamus; however, the court of appeals in March, 1947, set aside the judgment of the trial court, after which the case was tried on its merits and a final judgment was rendered against Sweatt.

The present appeal is predicated upon the error of the lower court in holding that the proposal of the state of Texas to establish the racially segregated law school afforded the equality required by the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. Further grounds for the appeal are based upon the error of the court in excluding the expert testimony of Dr. Charles H. Thompson, dean of the Howard university graduate school, and other qualified experts, with reference to the quantity and quality of education offered at the universities and colleges (other than Prairie View college) maintained by the state of Texas.

LEGAL

Clemency Petition: The legal department has requested Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall to consider a petition for clemency submitted on behalf of Willie Wilson. Wilson was originally sentenced by general courts-martial to life imprisonment; this sentence was subsequently reduced to twelve years, and then to eight. The petition states that Wilson's eyesight has been impaired during his confinement as result of the acid which got in his eyes while working in the diesel-engine shop of the prison.

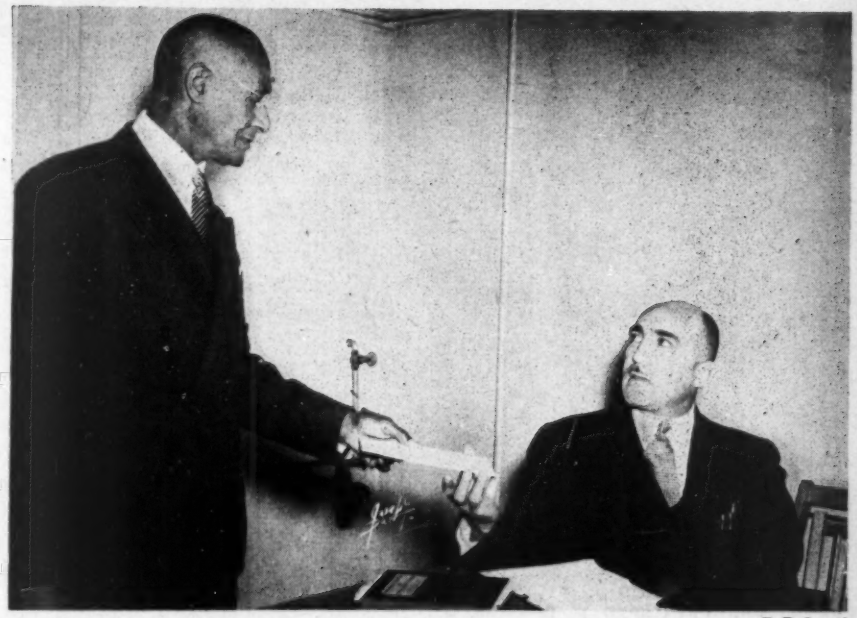
Hord Case: In a letter to the Secretary of the Department of the Army, the legal department has requested that the sentence of ten years confinement at hard labor levied against general-prisoner Eugene E. Hord be remitted. Hord was tried by a general court-martial sitting at Kokura, Japan, on January 27, 1947, charged with having commited armed assult upon another soldier and a Japanese civilian.

In asking for remittance of Hord's sentence, the letter points out that on the night of November 4, 1946, Hord was visiting a cabaret in Japan in company with a number of other American servicemen and Japanese civilians. While he was sitting at a table, a soldier, without either prior warning or provocation, struck Hord across the face with a beer bottle with such force that the bottle was broken. Hord is alleged to have then drawn a weapon and shot the private, one Barnes, in the leg; the bullet accidentally struck the Japanese civilian.

At the time of the alleged shooting, Hord was dazed and bleeding and it was not unnatural, and quite understandable, for one possessing a weapon to fire at his assailant. Hord was also known to his commanding officer as a quiet, ambitious soldier not given to sudden passion. In the light of the facts, the Secretary of the Army is asked to give careful consideration to Hord's case.

ON TO KANSAS CITY!

If your branch has not done so, please make plans now to send delegates to the annual conference in Kansas City, Missouri, June 22-27, inclusive.



E. F. Joseph

THE FIRST LIFE-MEMBERSHIP *ever to be taken out in the history of the Alameda county, California, branch, was taken out by Dr. F. M. Nelson, prominent Oakland physician. Dr. Nelson (standing) hands his membership to branch president C. L. Dellums.*

What the Branches Are Doing

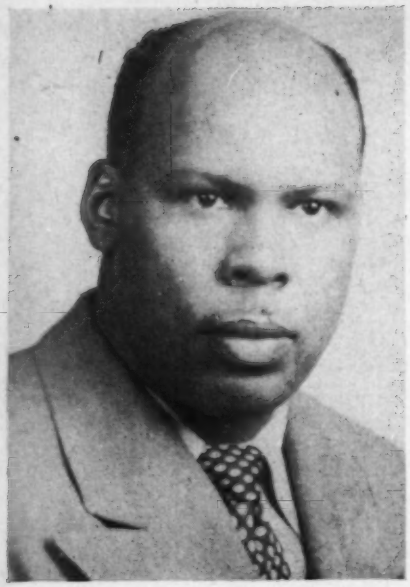
ALABAMA: The board of directors of the ALABAMA STATE CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES, in quarterly session on January 4, voted to instruct its legal staff to institute immediate legal attack on the Boswell amendment. This amendment, designed to eliminate the Negro vote, provides that every person registering to vote must be able to read and interpret the United States Constitution.

CALIFORNIA: Thomas L. Griffith, president of the LOS ANGELES branch, was commended by the executive board of his branch for his "splendid accomplishments during the past year." Griffith was especially praised for leading the branch in the remodeling and enlarging of its offices.

FLORIDA: On January 1, the BREVARD county branch sponsored a program commemorating the 85th anniversary of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The TAMPA branch held its annual election of officers in December. Matthew Gregory was elected president, James Johnson, secretary; H. W. Joseph, treasurer; and E. J. Wright, chairman of the executive committee. The new president is one of Tampa's most active citizens. He also serves as chairman of the Pullman Brotherhood and heads the local FEPC Council.

ILLINOIS: Attorney Genoa S. Washington, owner of Harlem hotel, was elected president of the CHICAGO branch in December. Henry W. McGhee, retiring president, did not seek reelection but was named to the board. Vice-



Rogers Studio

ATTORNEY WILLARD B. RANSOM,
president of the Indiana state conference of NAACP branches.

presidents elected were Attorney Levi Morris, Phillip Weightman, Alderman Archibald Carey and Mrs. Mary Ann Parker.

KANSAS: The following new officers were installed at the December meeting of the INDEPENDENCE branch: president, C. R. McClinton; vice-president, A. Wetmore; secretary, Bessie Rowe; and treasurer, Gertrude Johnson.

LOUISIANA: After a conference over protests lodged by the NEW ORLEANS branch, officials of the Freedom Train changed the plans that had been made for visiting the train, with the result that Negro and white school children of New Orleans saw the traveling exhibition of famous documents without segregation.

The Consumers League of the New Orleans branch has not lost courage in the face of obstacles in its fight against discrimination in the large New Orleans department stores. The branch is considering getting an injunction to halt local police from interfering with people who picket the offending stores.

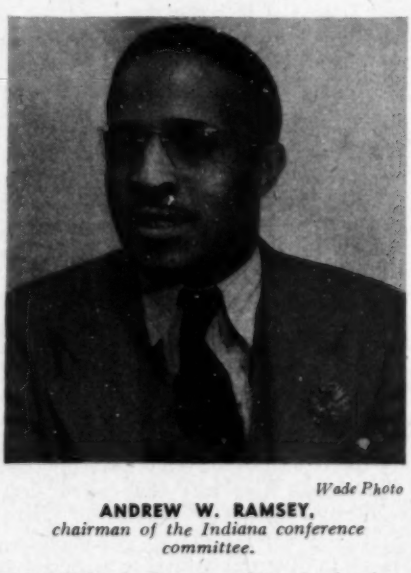
MICHIGAN: Reverend Robert L. Bradby was installed last week as president of the DETROIT branch. This is Reverend Bradby's second term as president.

Branding the instructions of Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy as "an invitation to kill," the Detroit branch strongly protested the "shooting" orders of the commissioner. The orders referred to came after the "not guilty verdict" of a coroners jury in the case of a thirteen-year-old colored boy who was shot and killed by a white patrolman. At that time, according to the Detroit branch, Police Commissioner Toy said, "Police officers should stop purse snatchers in any way they can. I am going to instruct my officers to get rough with them."

MINNESOTA: Irving Blumberg, treasurer of the MINNEAPOLIS branch, died in that city on January 7. Mr. Blumberg, who has worked actively with the NAACP for many years, was known for his belief that Jews, Negroes and other racial and religious minorities have a common cause in their struggle for equal rights.

After the Minneapolis branch protested to William Wong, proprietor of the Mun Hing Cafe, that a number of colored persons had received an unusual amount of salt in the food which they had been served at his restaurant, Mr. Wong promised the branch that he would call his employees together and tell them that they were not to discriminate against any citizen because of race.

MISSISSIPI: The JACKSON branch has engaged Attorney Dixon Byles to aid Marvin Murry, young Negro man of Wiggins, who has been lodged in the county jail in Jackson for safe keeping following his conviction and sentence of death for the murder of the Wiggins' jailor. Attorney Byles will join Attorney English Lindsay in appealing Murry's case to the State Supreme Court on a suggestion of error. These lawyers will claim that Murry's conviction was invalid because "segregation or separation of the races in a public court room is a denial of public trial within the meaning and spirit of the Constitution of Mississippi and of the United States." It is believed that



Wade Photo

ANDREW W. RAMSEY,
chairman of the Indiana conference committee.

this will be the first time this point has been raised in any Mississippi case.

MISSOURI: At the regular monthly meeting of the KANSAS CITY branch on January 5, the following newly-elected officers were installed: Carl R. Johnson, president; Mrs. Esther W. Williams, vice-president; Mrs. Barbara Voughn, secretary; Mrs. Margaret Williams, treasurer. The steering committee of the branch is busy preparing for the annual convention of the NAACP which will meet in Kansas City in June.

The executive committee of the St. Louis branch met on January 9 and outlined a full program for 1948. Civil rights, job opportunities and housing rate high on the agenda. The return of Gerald L. K. Smith to permanent headquarters in St. Louis and the number of crimes in Negro neighborhoods offer fertile fields for NAACP action.

NEW JERSEY: The ATLANTIC CITY branch has begun publication of a monthly bulletin to keep its membership informed about branch activities. The branch contributed to the Federated Club Women of New Jersey, the cancer fund, the Frederick Douglass Memorial Home, and the fund raising drive of the local YMCA. Branch officers for 1948 are as follows: James E. King, president; Mrs. Beatrice Boulden, first vice-president; Arwin A. Hamm, second vice-president; Roberta Long, recording secretary; Mrs. Maude R. Greene, corresponding secretary; William H. Mason, financial secretary; Robert H. Griffin, director of promotion; William A. Fisher, treasurer; and Mrs. Edith Joyce, chaplain.

The following are members of the executive board: Mrs. Margaret Caution, Mrs. Nadine Carpenter, Horace Bryant, Mrs. Alberta Douglass, Samuel T. Johnson, Jersey Smith, Mrs. Evelyn Moore, Rev. Mathew E. Neil, Mrs. Thelma Whiteside, Bessie Duncan, Ralston Gaiter, Howard Hall, William Massey, Mrs. Ruth Artis, Herod McLeod, and Mrs. Dorothy J. Manigault.

On January 17 the political action committee of the branch presented John A. Davis, professor of government and political science at Lincoln university (Mo.), in a lecture at the Elks home.

The MONTCLAIR branch and several other local groups have succeeded in having an amendment introduced to the Town Commission. The amendment provides that no place of business or entertainment licensed by the town can discriminate on account of race, color, or creed.

Harry Hazelwood was elected president of the NEWARK branch at the January meeting. Other officers for 1948 are Mrs. Mae Smith, first vice-president; Oscar Sellers, second vice-president; Marion Sandoz, secretary; Mrs. Effa Manley, treasurer; and Evelyn Hinton, assistant secretary.

NEW YORK: Honorable Samuel Leibowitz, judge of the County Court in Brooklyn, has

WILLIAM T. RAY,
president of the Indianapolis, Indiana, branch.

consented to head the membership drive of the BROOKLYN branch in 1948. The membership committee has obtained the Brooklyn Academy of Music for the night of March 25 for a benefit show in which a 1948 Kaiser-Frazer sedan will be given away. The show will be highlighted with some of the greatest names in show business.

The CORONA branch installed its new officers during the last week in December. Those installed were James Gadsen, president; Mrs. Alice Reed, first vice-president; Miss Mable Webb, second vice-president; Mrs. Rachael Cumberbatch, recording secretary; and Mrs. Irma Wheat, corresponding secretary.

Reverend John Miller, of Peoples AME Zion church, was elected president of the SYRACUSE branch in December.

MASSACHUSETTS: The BOSTON youth council recently held its annual election and elected the following officers: Charles Lewis, president; Barbara Le Vatt, vice-president; Irving L. Jones, treasurer; Dorothy Linwood, secretary; Mattie Cannon, corresponding secretary; Donald Brown, financial secretary; Curtis H. Brewer, parliamentarian; Irving Brown, sergeant-at-arms; Edwin Davis, labor and industry; Sarah Stansil, social committee; Yvonne Beale, program and research; Charles Mall, public relations; Carolyn Nelson, delegate-at-large and Mr. Elwood Mckenney, advisor.

Installation services were held at the People Baptist church, February 8. At this time they launched a campaign for two thousand new members.

The ROCHESTER branch desires to encourage, by giving financial aid, some high school student whose talents and aspirations lie in the direction of obtaining the type of training in the arts, professions or technology which would be adaptable for successful living and effective leadership in the local community.

To this end the branch is offering a tuition scholarship, not to exceed $500, for study in some reputable institution of higher learning in New York state, for the year 1948-49, to be awarded to a graduate of the Rochester school system who possesses the following qualifications:

(1) The recipient shall have received his high school diploma no earlier than June 1946; (2) he must have passed with distinction the college entrance examinations of the New York State Board of Regents; and (3) the recipient should be an individual who possesses the personality and social attitudes which will enable him to serve an an interracial ambassador and thus create a more general acceptance of Negroes into the life of the school of his (or her) choice.

The scholarship will be administered by a committee appointed by the superintendent of schools, and will *not* be renewable.

OHIO: The legal committee of the CLEVELAND branch formally presented the Cleveland board of education a petition protesting the discriminatory practices in the apprenticeship training program of the Cleveland Trade School at a special meeting of the board on January 28. Attorney Charles W. Quich was designated by the legal staff to make the presentation, and he was ably supported by attorneys Clayborne George and William B. Saunders, both of the legal staff. Mrs. Norma Wulff, president of the Cleveland board of education had called the special meeting as a result of a request by the Cleveland branch. A one hundred per cent attendance of the board of education was obtained for the session, which lasted two hours and twenty minutes.

James Lee

WORKERS IN THE HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, *branch who brought in thirty or more members during the recent branch membership campaign. Seated left to right they are Mrs. J. H. Fisher, Minnie L. Pierce, membership committee; Mrs. Blanche Mills. Standing left to right are Percy W. Christian, branch president; Mrs. Mabel Nixon, Mrs. Harriett Lawrence, secretary; Mrs. Antionette Washington, and Marcellus Ried. Not pictured here are Glendora Duggins, Mrs. Minnie Jackson, Rev. L. A. Jones, Mrs. J. B. Macklin, Mrs. Willie Stone, and Mrs. Nannie Turner.*

Charles P. Lucas, branch secretary, opened the presentation by stating that the purpose of the action was based on the case of Elmer M. Thompson, a Negro applicant for training at the trade school in the electrical course. Mr. Thompson, a Navy veteran approved by the Veterans Administration, had received subsistence and tools from the VA; had been approved by the Ohio Apprenticeship Training Council; and had been processed by the Federal Apprenticeship Committee. He is properly indentured to a licensed electrical contractor of Cleveland, Robert B. Morgan, and had made personal application for admission at the Cleveland Trade School through the principal, Mr. D. C. Courtright. However, despite these qualifications, Mr. Thompson's application was rejected.

Councilman Anthony Flask introduced a strong FEPC ordinance to a City Council meeting on January 12. The original plan for such a proposal came from the YOUNGSTOWN branch. Prior to the recent election, the branch polled the candidates for council to get their reaction to such an important measure. At the time many of the candidates who are now council members replied favorably to this proposal and promised to support fair employment legislation.

Various committees of the Youngstown branch started action during the first week in January to sponsor Powell Lindsay's production of the stage show, "Murder Without Crime," which will be given on February 18 in the local high school.

TENNESSEE: As a part of its efforts to halt the brutality of Memphis police, the MEMPHIS branch collected money to help Adelaide Hudson file a suit for $3000 against two policemen whom she charged with beating her brutally without cause after arresting her. However, Miss Hudson's case was lost; the white policemen claimed that Miss Hudson was insulting and abusive and defied them to arrest her.

The installation of officers in the NASHVILLE branch for 1948, was held January 25, at the Mt. Olive Baptist church.

The main address was delivered by Cedric Dover of the department of social sciences at Fisk university, an Eurasian. He spoke on race relations in England, India, and America. Others on the program were M. W. Day, of the Nashville *Globe and Independent;* Dr. W. J. Faulkner, of the Fisk chapel; Rev. E. B. Looper; and M. G. Ferguson, the retiring president.

Music was furnished by the Tennessee State A. & I. singers and the National Baptist Publishing Board choral society.

Rev. Charles L. Dinkins, the newly elected president, delivered the presidential response. The Nashville branch had nearly 5000 members in 1947.

Other newly elected officers installed were Miss M. D. Mayberry, vice-president; Mrs. Annabelle Nollez, secretary; Mrs. John Hull, treasurer; and M. W. Day, chairman of the executive committee.

VIRGINIA: The campaign which the NORFOLK branch has been waging to obtain

BRANCH NEWS

Send the news from your branch regularly to *The Crisis*, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York. It must reach us by the first of each month.

improved school facilities in their city achieved partial success in December when the city authorized a $1,665,000 bond issue to defray the cost of a 32-room elementary school building for Negro children.

Among the activities noted in the report of the twelfth annual convention of the VIRGINIA STATE CONFERENCE OF NAACP BRANCHES, held in Roanoke, November 1-2, 1947, are the following: The president, Dr. J. M. Tinsley, reviewed the accomplishments of the past twelve months, mentioning with special emphasis the following: the Conference, with its member-branches and other cooperating organizations, realized the greatest number of qualified voters in Virginia since the turn of the century; explained methods employed to increase interest in suffrage among Negroes in the state; lauded the work of Dr. Luther P. Jackson and his report on the voting status of Negroes in Virginia; the Virginia state conference was the recipient of the Class III, 1st prize of the Thalheimer award (this award is given each year to the state conference having planned the best program); the appointment of a member of our conference, in the person of the president of the Virginia state conference, on the mayor's committee to welcome to the City of Richmond, "The Freedom Train": "I promise to the Negroes of Virginia that everything will be done in my power to see that segregation is not tolerated," said the mayor.

The consolidated report of the branches showed that the membership for the state had increased during the year, but that a large number of the branches were far behind the quotas set. At the time of the conference, the aggregate membership stood around 27,500. The report also showed that the branches had been most active in the field of suffrage. There was also a marked increase in the number of cases, either handled by the branches themselves, or cases reported to the state conference for action.

The conclusion drawn from the consolidated report was that the work of the Association over the entire state is on the upgrade, and the suggestions offered by the branches promise to make the year of 1948 a banner year for NAACP activities.

By order of the executive board the legal staff investigated and participated in the trial of Burford Morton, who was charged with rape, convicted and sentenced to death. We took his case to the Board of Pardons and Reprieves, but that board refused clemency and Morton was subsequently executed.

We also investigated the case of Billy Owens, white, in Pittsylvania county, who shot and killed Fletcher Davis, Negro. We did not participate in the trial of that case, although the legal staff and the executive secretary did investigate.

The legal staff has handled more than 60 cases involving transportation in the state of Virginia; tried and filed suits which are now in preparation for trial, and defended cases involving segregation in transportation over the entire state of Virginia within the past year. Approximately $200,000.00 worth of civil suits have been filed and approximately twenty criminal cases defended, some of which were taken to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, and a number of which were tried before the Interstate Commerce Commission

Particular attention is called to the case of Lottie E. Taylor vs. Commonwealth, now pending in the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia. The executive board in conjunction with the legal staff felt that the NAACP should file a brief *amicus curiae;* this has been done. The legal staff participated in the case in the lower court, but was not associated in the appeal.

Highlight of the "all to Action" program of the conference is the school facilities program, outlined as follows: As good parents and loyal American citizens, we can not stand complacently by and see one-fourth of the population of the Commonwealth of Virginia deprived of its rightful share of educational opportunities simply because of the color of skin.

P. H. Polk

"BABY NAACP"—*Carol A. Gaillard, 5-month-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Wendell Gaillard, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, who was crowned "Baby NAACP" in a baby contest recently held by the Tuskegee branch.*

A CORRECTION

In the January issue of *The Crisis* we reprinted an editorial, "To Secure These Rights," from the November 8, 1947, issue of the Norfolk, Virginia, *Journal and Guide.* We credited this editorial, in our "Editorial Roundup," to P. B. Young, Sr. Mr. Young now informs us that the editorial was written, not by himself, but by his son, P. B. Young, Jr. He adds, "I want to say that the editorial in question expressed, of course, my own views and the views of all the other members of the Corporation and of the editorial staff of the *Journal and Guide.*"

The Virginia state conference, in convention assembled, adopted a school facilities program designed to eliminate segregation and discrimination in each of the public school divisions in the state of Virginia.

This program is designed, and the NAACP is determined to secure for all, identical educational opportunities, through legal action if necessary.

The school facilities program is being jointly sponsored by the national office and the state conference. The initial period of the program is one year.

WASHINGTON: Attorney Thomas F. Lynch, chairman of the legal redress committee, reported on the Spokane police department at the January 23 meeting of the SPOKANE branch. F. A. Stokes, branch secretary, has filed a suit in superior court for $10,000 damages from Mrs. Rosa D. Malone, head of the Booker T. Washington community center, for calling him a Communist in a telegram sent from Spokane last September. Mr. Stokes, who is being represented by attorneys R. Max Etter and Thomas F. Lynch, alleges that the charges contained in the telegram sent to the national office of the NAACP in New York City were untrue and have injured his reputation.

What the Regions Are Doing

SOUTHWEST REGION: The first annual conference of the NAACP Southwest Region, established just last September with headquarters in DALLAS, has been scheduled for the weekend of March 13-14 in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, it has been announced from the Dallas office. The region comprises the five states of Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas, and possibly 300 delegates from these states will converge on Pine Bluff for this first meeting.

The city of Pine Bluff was awarded the first conference primarily because of the remarkable record its branch made under the leadership of W. Harold Flowers, dynamic young lawyer, who is also president of the Arkansas conference of branches. Pine Bluff has vaulted into position as one of the top branches in the Southwest, toasting more than 4,000 members and a hard driving program of activities that resulted in the county voting registration of some 5,000 Negroes, an unprecedented achievement in Arkansas.

Participants on the conference program in March will be NAACP national officers Gloster Current, director of branches; Clarence Mitchell, labor secretary, and a member of the national legal staff yet to be named. On the program from the region will be Attorney A. P. Tureaud, president of the Louisiana conference of branches; A. Maceo Smith; Mrs. Lulu White; Attorney W. J. Durham; Dr. H. W. Williamston, Oklahoma president, and Attorney Amos T. Hall, Oklahoma resident counsel; Hobart LaGrone of New Mexico. Mr. Flowers and Donald Jones, regional secretary. Others still to be selected will round out the conference program.

FREEDOM BOND DRIVE: The unique "Freedom Bond" drive which the Texas conference of

Religious News Service

NEGRO MINISTERS PRAY FOR CONGRESS—*Heads bowed in prayer, some of the 200 Negro ministers who participated in a "March on Capitol Hill" are shown standing on the steps of the nation's Capitol. They asked divine guidance for the newly-assembled Congress and urged speedy legislation to insure "equal opportunity for education, work and protection under the law."*

NAACP branches is sponsoring in order to build a war chest to finance its rapidly expanding battle with the segregated Texas school system and segregation in general got off to a flying start in January when more than $200 worth of bonds were sold at a meeting in Austin. The meeting, well attended by a crowd statewide in character, despite the bitter cold, was sponsored by the Austin branch on the evening of January 28, night before the hearing of the Sweatt Case in the Third District Court of Civil Appeals.

Largest individual purchaser of a bond was John Jay Jones, Texarkana businessman and president of the Texas conference of branches, who bought a $100 bond. Purchasers of $25 bonds were F. H. Purness, Houston; Father John D. Epps, Tyler; and Rev. W. D. Williams, Austin. Rev. J. V. Goins, Austin, bought one of $10 denomination. Purchasers of the $5 bonds were as follows: Rev. A. J. Stewart, Amarillo, and Robert Stack, New York City; John T. King, Rev. R. H. Duncan, Mrs. J. R. Shannon, Smith Evans and Rev. J. H. Washington, all of Austin.

LaGrange Case: "The LaGrange "cease and desist" educational suit, similar to the Hearne Case and on the same high school level, is being filed in federal court this week by Attorney W. J. Durham.

Kirk Case: W. Astor Kirk, Texas teacher who already holds a master's degree in economics, applied recently for admission to the University of Texas to do work on his doctorate, and was refused. The Texas conference of NAACP branches has taken his case and suit will be filed shortly in federal court. The essentials are the same as in the Sweatt Case.

Bus Killing: In a Dallas bus on December 17 a city patrolman, Nolan Ray, shot and killed a Negro, Charles Curry, because the Negro did not immediately take his hands out of his pockets when ordered to do so by the patrolman. Two days after the slaying Police Chief Carl Hansson dismissed Ray, and on December 29 the grand jury indicted the former patrolman for murder without malice.

The regional secretary worked with Attorney W. J. Durham and others securing witnesses to appear before the grand jury, and now is participating with a committee representing all major local organizations to raise funds to pay attorneys to assist in the prosecution.

Book Reviews

MUDDLED THINKING

***Race and Nationality: As Factors in American life.* By Henry Pratt Fairchild. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1947. VII+216pp. $3.00.**

The literature on the race question long ago reached mountainous proportions, but the germane importance of this greatest of all modern social problems, particularly for the United States, means that the peak is a long way from being scaled. In this accumulation of writings on race, some have given impetus to the ascent in search of a way out, others

MEMBERS OF THE BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, *youth council shown here are, left to right, Irving Brown, Irving Jones, Mattie Cannon, Charles Hall, Carolyn Nelson, Sarah Stansil, Charles Lewis, Dorothy Linwood, Edwin Davis, Donald Brown, and Samuel Fanfroy.*

have reached a plateau and stood still, while others have had a regression stimulus. Somewhere between these latter two is where Dr. Fairchild's volume belongs.

The author explains that "there is a striking dearth of explicit interpretations of the distinction" between race and culture, "and it is these fundamentals which this book undertakes to set forth . . . and the effort made to face significant facts honestly, to put them in their proper place in the general interpretation," and to derive whatever conclusions and practical indications the facts justify. Launching into a thirteen-chapter treatment of race and nationality, his discussion includes a muddled biological explanation of race and an unscientific analysis of society. This is followed by a confusing and subtly racist explanation of racial quality, and a superficial and unenlightening discourse on the race problem which constitutes nothing new or helpful. Then comes what passes for a discussion of anti-racism, but which turns out to be largely an attempted discreditation of the physical anthropological findings of Franz Boas and but serves to reveal the lack of understanding on the part of the author of the importance and pertinent influence of the force of cultural and environmental factors upon man. Next is presented an obviously biased picturization of all things good in American life, emanating only from Anglo-Saxon heritage. The Negro as a problem is quickly disposed of in an innocuous, worthless five-page casual handling. An ineffectual attack is made upon the premise that race differences are negligible elements in human existence. There is a pretended critique of solutions to the race problem that offers nothing positive. A fairly accurate analysis of the case of the Jew in America, and a plausible discussion of what is called "the indispensable nation" brings the volume to its conclusion.

Although the book is dedicated to clearing up misunderstandings between race and nationality, because of the author's personal dislike of Negroes, Jews, Catholics, foreigners, and all who do not stem from Anglo-Saxon roots, it actually serves but to further becloud the meaning of these concepts. It is evident that Fairchild is ignorant of any definite, clear, and precise meaning of what race is, or what constitutes nationality. It is most unfortunate that as regards this volume the author "made no attempt to have it examined by numerous friends" whose judgment he valued. Undoubtedly they would have told him that this work does not tread "on the sound middle ground of balance, proportion, and moderation" he professes, but is a self-exposé of personal race prejudice long latent; and that this confused personal opinion piece would only serve to detract in large measure from his reputation and stature in the social sciences.

Were this not such a dishonest and confused attempt to racist writing, it could take its place beside the works of Gobineau, Chamberlain, Stoddard, and Thomas Dixon. As a consequence it must be denied even this "distinction" and must be classified as refuse for the Hitlerian dogma trash pile.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

MEXICO'S NEGROES

***La Población Negra de México (1519-1810): Estudio Etnohistórico.* Por Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán. Mexico, D. F.: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1946. XI+347pp. 9 Cartogramas (Negro Inhabitants of Mexico, 1519-1810: Ethno-historical Study, with 9 Maps).**

This is the first book-length study of the genesis and absorption of the Negro element in Mexico during the first two hundred odd years of Spanish domination. It is an authentic, revealing book because most of Sr. Beltrán's information is derived directly from sources in the *Archivo General de la Nación* in Mexico City. The documents of the Santo Tribunal de la Inquisición, the Reales Cédulas, the Ordenanzas, and the Padrones offered especially rich material. The 347-page study is divided into the following sections: "The African Slave Trade," five chapters; "Tribal Origins," three chapters; "Biological Premises," two chapters; and "Demographic Propositions," four chapters. There is also a bibliography as well as a subject index and indices of proper, tribal, and geographical names.

Negroes were already a considerable element in the non-Indian population of New Spain or Mexico as early as the sixteenth century, constituting about 71 percent of the total in contrast with the white 29 percent. By the eighteenth century they made up at least 65 percent of the immigrant population, although both Negroes and whites combined did not exceed probably two percent of the total population of the country, which then as now was predominantly Indian. Though the figures are perhaps exaggerated, the proportions are nevertheless significant.

Negroes first entered New Spain with the conquistadores and the discoverers. There were six with Hernan Cortés, one being named Juan Cortés, and Juan Núñez Sedeño, Pánfilo de Narváez, as well as Francisco de Montejo all had Negroes in their entourage. And though the Spanish settlers who followed brought in a considerable number of Negroes as servants, it was the African slave trade, made possible and highly profitable through the various *licencias, asientos,* and *cédulas,* that facilitated their wholesale importation. "During the early period of the African slave trade, Mexico was one of the best markets in the New World. Its position as a great absorber of *ebony* even permitted the country to help in the regulation of the traffic." The chief sources for these slaves were Cape Verde, during the sixteenth century, and the Congo and Angola, during the eighteenth.

This meeting on Mexican soil of the three great ethnic groups (the Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid) produced widespread hybridization and led to the organization of a caste system by the Spanish rulers in an effort to keep their blood free of the "taint" of Indian and Negro as well as to help them maintain their superior status as conquerors and rulers. During the first century of Spanish rule the five distinct groups were the Spaniards, Creoles, Mestizos, Indians, and Negroes.

This society took definitive form during the first years of the seventeenth century when all the innumerable combinations of conquerors and conquered had reached its peak. "The organization of the caste system made the naming of each caste a prime necessity, and furthermore there had to be a name for every possible combination, based upon the proportion of white, Negro or Indian blood possessed by the unfortunate vassal of his Catholic Majesty, in order to determine his previously established position in the social structure of the colony." At first these classifications were cultural, with the emphasis on religion. At the top of the social hierarchy were the Spaniards or "people of reason" (gente de razón) and beneath them were the Indians, Moriscos (Moors and white slaves),

Mestizos, Mulattoes, *Zambaigos* (Indian-Negro), and the Negro slaves.

But toward the end of the Viceroyalty, classifications came to be based more and more upon skin color, and wherever difficulties arose there might be ancillary references to such anatomical differences as form and color of hair, shape of the nose, color of the eyes, and caste of the face, since caste classification was necessary to determine legal and social position. Space does not permit extended examination of this color-caste nomenclature; but despite the astounding variety of terms, of which some twenty-five are listed by our author, it was often difficult for the colonial administration to place an individual in his proper ethnic niche. In passing, the author points out that the "classification of the learned," with such terms as *Tente en el aire* (held in the air), *Torna atrás* (a backward step), etc., was never actually used, since it had the "defect of being both unintelligible and impracticable." However, by the middle of the seventeenth century the Mexican population had jellied into six broad ethnic groups: European, African, Indian, Euromestizo, Afromestizo, and Indomestizo.

Factors which had facilitated this miscibility were the scarcity of white women, which led to the widespread concubinage of white men with Indian and Negro women; the policy of importing two Negro males for every one female (in 1793, for example, Negro females made up only 35.3 percent of the total Negro population in contrast with the 64.7 percent for the males); and the discouraging of marriage, though perfectly legal, between Negro men and Negro women, which had resulted in the widespread concubinage of Negro men and Indian women. The offsprings of these *Negro-India* unions, *Zambaigos*, were born free, since they took the status of their mother, and usually incorporated into the Indian group. It is interesting to note that the African group, that is the more or less pure Negroes, which had made up on 0.6 percent of the population in 1570, had increased by 1646 to 2 percent; but had declined by 1810 to only 0.1 percent; whereas the Afromestizos, who had made up only .07 percent of the total in 1570, had increased by 1646 to 6.8 percent; and by 1810, to 10.1 percent.

The tendency of the Mestizos was to identify themselves with the whites, and of the mulattoes and zambaigos, wherever possible, with the Indomestizo group. No one wanted to be "maculado por sangre vil," that is "stained by servile or Negro blood." Toward the end of the period of Spanish domination, Sr. Beltrán says there was a tendency for "individuals born of Negroes and Indians to be catalogued as Spanish Americans," as with, to take a notable example, the famous hero of the Mexican independence, José Maria Morelos y Pavón.

Stated in simple terms, the socio-historical process was as follows: the Europeans absorbed the Indians (or the Europeans began to dissolve in the Indian caldron), and then this class, the mestizos, now darker in hue, began to absorb the next darker element beneath it, and so on, until today there are practically no Negroes in Mexico and only a few Negroid villages on the order of Valerio Trujano; a decided Negro caste to the features of many Mexican Indians; and the author's observation that the "Negroes made not only a biological contribution, but as bearers of culture they also introduced cultural artifacts, the survivals of which are still evident in Mexico."

Although *Negro Inhabitants of Mexico* is intended primarily for the ethnologist and the anthropologist it can, because of the clarity of its style and the cogent handling of its materials, be profitably read by any intelligent layman. This essay, says the author, should be considered not as definitive but as the first historical approach to the study of the Negro in Mexico. His conclusions, he states, are provisional and he hopes that they will either be affirmed or corrected by subsequent investigations.

J. W. I.

Religious News Service

READS PROCLAMATION THAT MADE HIM FREE MAN—*The Rev. J. B. Jones, Negro minister of Nashville, Tennessee, who was born into slavery 88 years ago, reads the Emancipation Proclamation that set him free. He is shown with his wife as they visited the Freedom Train on its stop in Nashville.*

Let's Go!

The battle for civil rights is going forward. The tide is running our way. NAACP branches, youth councils and college chapters should be active as never before. In this election year hold meetings, keep in touch with your Congressmen and Senators, fight for your goals, and raise money to keep your NAACP in there pitching.

India's Bapu

(*Continued from page 83*)

Pakistan will have a bright future. The whole of Asia will heave a sigh of relief. It may even affect the strained relations between the USA and USSR, because a progressive and well knit India can certainly become the bridge between the East and the West.

If this happens Gandhi in death will have performed the greatest service to mankind.

Bapu is dead—but he can never die.

Vietnamese Struggle

(*Continued from page 79*)

Cochin-China cabinet, were foiled by the determination of the people, despite the despondent economic situation, to stand up to the French attack. Now that their tricks have all failed, the French reactionaries are trying to frighten the other Colonial Powers with territories in South East Asia with the bogey of Communism, which is

growing, they say, in strength and volume.

While the French left-wing parties are rendering no assistance to the Vietnamese, volunteers from India, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and Java are organizing International Brigades to go and fight side by side with the Vietnamese. In Calcutta, British-controlled police opened fire on Indian university students who were observing "Viet-Nam Day" in sympathy with the Indo-Chinese nationalists. In London, colonials are subscribing money to fit out an ambulance and to provide medical aid to the gallant Asiatic fighters for freedom.

"New" Wilberforce

(*Continued from page 77*)

and one for women.

One of the very few bureaus of educational research in American colleges, white or Negro, is located at the College of Education and Industrial Arts. Another agency for guidance and personnel service, the Wilberforce Bureau of Educational Research, performs the following functions: (1) Educational and institutional research; (2) educational services; (3) clinical counselling; (4) publications and information; (5) testing; and (6) collection of bibliography and materials. Perhaps the most significant work of the bureau has been the development of an "all-school testing program." According to present plans, a psychological clinic will be set up in the near future to follow through the implications of test data now being accumulated in the Bureau of Educational Research. Already, reading and speech clinics have been organized as a result of this testing program.

The important departments in the new Division of Arts and Sciences are: (1) speech and dramatics and (2) social administration. Designed to provide training for the developing fields of speech and dramatics, interested students now can receive the B.S. degree in speech and dramatics in the College of Educational and Industrial Arts. "The Wilberforce Players," which, for seventeen years has been an extra-curricular drama group, has been reconstituted as the "Player's Guild" to serve as a laboratory organization for students majoring in speech and dramatics. Another phase of the new speech and dramatics program involves a plan to produce radio broadcasts in conjunction with a proposed radio station, to be operated by the Division of Industries.

Directed by a Negro, with the first Ph.D. in social research and statistics awarded by the Ohio State University and formerly of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, the Department of Social Administration "maintains undergraduate curricula, which provide an excellent educational background for further study in graduate schools of social work and greatly enhance the capabilities and opportunities of the students who are unable to continue with graduate training and who desire employment in social work after graduation. . . . This junior professional training gives the graduate a thorough orientation to the field of social work and a resultant degree of competence, not available in the untrained worker since, each year, approximately ten thousand persons find employment in the social welfare agencies and institutions of this country."

Supplanting the old Department of Commerce is the new Division of Business, headed by a certified public accountant. This division is offering four curricula leading to the B.S. degree in accounting; business administration; business education; and secretarial science. The fields of specialization in business administration are marketing and merchandising; real estate; and finance and insurance. The courses offered in accounting include tax accounting; cost accounting; auditing; and governmental accounting and budgeting; for the announced purpose of "preparing students for employment with private business and governmental agencies as accountants, auditors, and in related capacities, or for professional careers as independent certified public accountants."

As a practical experiment in human economics almost an entire building (Jenkins Hall) is being converted into a cooperative book store and grill. When renovations are completed, the bookstore and grill will be operated by a student-faculty committee in collaboration with the Division of Business. Periodical dividends, declared from this enterprise, will be divided between the student loan-fund and each participating student.

Building Program

Greeted by an overflow of prospective students, the College of Education and Industrial Arts was compelled to limit its freshman class in order to readmit approximately 70 per cent of the student body that had been enrolled in Wilberforce University during the school year previous to the split. Even then the intended freshman quota of 150 was exceeded by almost 100 students, giving a total college enrollment of 1010 students as compared with a total of 1489 (765 in the College of Education and 707 in the College of Liberal Arts) for the 1946-47 school year at Wilberforce University.

Fortunately, though, the one-million-dollar-building program of the state of Ohio for the College of Education is just getting under way and, thus, it has been possible to provide necessary accommodations for the unexpectedly large student population at the "New Wilberforce." Structures planned in this building program include a university library building, a men's dormitory, a teachers' apartment, a home economics practice house, a university stadium, a student health building, a natatorium, and an administration building, along with construction of additional administrative offices in Bundy Hall and renovations in Galloway Hall, which has become mainly the arts and sciences building.

In order to meet the immediate need for a library building, the College of Education converted a newly-erected student recreation building into a temporary library building. This will be used until the new building is erected. In the meantime, the foundation has already been laid for a new men's dormitory and ground soon will be broken for a science building and a natatorium. Construction, also, has begun on an elementary education building.

Interracial Relations

No longer hampered by the concept that Wilberforce University is a "Negro" College, as listed in the U. S. Department of Education *Directory of Institutions for Higher Education*, perhaps because of the impetus given by the African Methodist Episcopal church in its widespread advertisement of a "Negro school under Negro leadership," the College of Education and Industrial Arts has lost no time in expanding the interracial program begun by Wilberforce University. Only, this time, the basis is "a first rate college in Ohio" rather than a college for Negroes seeking better race relationships." Those who scan the newspapers, no doubt, have read of the overwhelming victory for the State College football team over Bergen Junior College (white) at the Polo Grounds in New York. In the realm of music, a combined Wilberforce-Antioch [see February *Crisis*, page 40] choir sang "The Messiah" during the Christmas season, both on the Antioch and Wilberforce campuses. Similar instances could be recited of interracial ventures in the classroom, student organizations, and among professional groups.

Even more important now are the projected plans for a mixed faculty and mixed student body, to be chosen not upon a quota basis but solely by merit and qualification. Operating now under the exclusive support of the state of Ohio, the "New Wilberforce" enjoys much more latitude in implementing the plan for another "Roosevelt College." Not in Chicago, but in Ohio! Previous membership in the Ohio Colleges' Association and the Inter-University Council of Ohio also make this objective more realizable.

Recently added to the faculty has been a white woman, Mrs. Dorothy Zeiger, who will serve as professor of intercultural education. An Iowa State and Columbia graduate, with additional experience at Wisconsin and Howard, Mrs. Zeiger has been director of student hostelries in the United States and active in NAACP work in the state of New Jersey. She is expected to be very helpful in augmenting those interracial student and faculty contacts already begun by the State College with Ohio and neighboring colleges. Numerous applications from white students are even now being received by the State College.

Postscript

Beset by legal suits instituted by the board of trustees of the Wilberforce Corporation the College of Education and Industrial Arts has received the favorable verdict in every case, as the common pleas court instructed the state college to offer its own liberal arts courses; retain O'Neill hall; recognize Dr. Wesley as president of a separate state-supported College of Education and Industrial Arts; and not to use the name "Wilberforce University," even though the name "Wilberforce State College," quickly affixed by the general public and press, was permissible to the court.

Functioning with an annual budget of approximately one million dollars, of which almost $400,000 was allotted for the College of Liberal Arts (to be raised by the AME church) the state has shifted into high gear to assume not only this financial responsibility but also a larger budget for the present work of the College of Education and Industrial Arts, the "New Wilberforce," to help in maintaining its greatly expanded program. When one takes into consideration the fact that the AME church contributed less than $20,000 in 1946-47 to their own $370,000 budget, this might not prove to be so difficult a task with the $78,000 "clock-hour" money now being retained by the state. Realizing the magnitude of this expanded program in the College of Education and Industrial Arts, officials already have plans afoot to request a much-increased budget appropriation from the 1948 Ohio general assembly for the College of Education and Industrial Arts. All signs, now, point to a "New Wilberforce" dedicated to up-to-date progress in the field of human relations as a modest-sized college—modern and efficient in all respects. This alone will salve the wounds which Wilberforce alumni and well-wishers have suffered recently.

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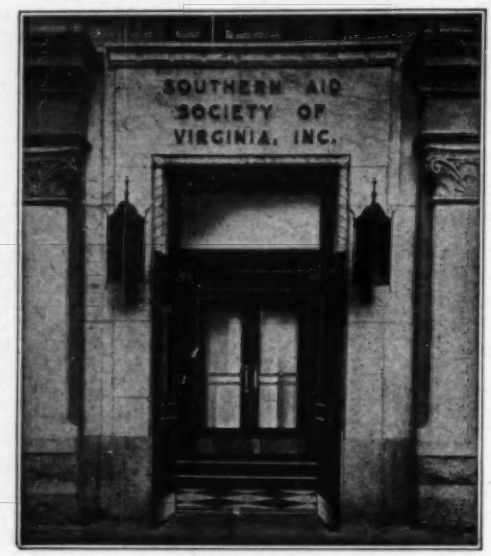

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